

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
IO-13 ACDA-12 CU-04 HA-05 BIB-01 EB-08 COME-00
TRSE-00 /104 W
-----040917 181136Z /14

R 171508Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 988
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 1147

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE PGOV HU US XG XH
SUBJECT: HUNGARIANS LOOK AT CSCE PROCESS AFTER BELGRADE

REF: (A) BELGRADE 2007 (B) 77 BUDAPEST 4191 (C) BUDAPEST 894

1. SUMMARY: "BELGRADE IS NOT THE END OF THE ROAD," IS THE TITLE HUNGARIAN CSCE DELEGATION HEAD PETRAN GAVE TO HIS ARTICLE IN PARTY PRESS SUMMING UP RESULTS OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE. THE TITLE IS BOTH AN ASSESSMENT OF RESULTS AND A REFLECTION OF OFFICIAL HUNGARIAN SATISFACTION WITH THE CSCE PROCESS. WHILE PRESS HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO POINT OUT THAT WEST OBSTRUCTION AND PROPAGANDA, IN ITS VIEW, PREVENTED MORE POSITIVE RESULTS, IT HAS CALLED RESULTS USEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE. HUNGARIANS ARE PLEASED THAT CSCE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT BELGRADE MEETING DID NOT HAVE NEGATIVE RESULTS, AND THAT CSCE WILL CONTINUE PROVIDE PROTECTIVE UMBRELLA FOR HUNGARY'S IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

2. HUNGARIAN COMMENTATORS SEEM MORE OPTIMISTIC IN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF FINAL RESULTS OF BELGRADE CON-

REFERENCE AS COMPARED TO GUARDED POSITIVE ASSESSMENTS IN PRESS TWO WEEKS AGO (REF (C)). THIS IS PROBABLY BECAUSE HURDLE OF AGREED FINAL DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PASSED. SPATE OF PRESS ARTICLES WHICH APPEARED OVER PERIOD OF MAR 10-13 ALL DECRIED WESTERN CONCENTRATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS AT CONFERENCE AND BLAMED WEST FOR OBSTRUCTING A SERIES OF PROPOSALS MADE BY COMMUNIST STATES. THEY THEN GO ON TO DRAW POSITIVE BALANCE SHEET IN CLEAR TERMS AND LOOK FORWARD TO FUTURE MOVES TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

3. JANOS PETRAN, WHO WAS HEAD OF HUNGARIAN DELEGATION TO BELGRADE, GAVE LONGEST ASSESSMENT OF CONFERENCE IN ARTICLE ENTITLED, "BELGRADE IS NOT THE END OF THE ROAD," WHICH APPEARED IN PARTY DAILY, NEPSZABADSAG. AS HE DID IN HIS FINAL ADDRESS AT BELGRADE (REF (A)), PETRAN, AFTER TAKING WEST TO TASK FOR WANTING TO INTERFERE IN AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES UNDER PRETEXT OF SECURING HUMAN RIGHTS, ASSERTED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS HAS A CENTRAL POSITION IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. HE, IN EFFECT, STATED WESTERN VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS THEN WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT SOCIALIST CONCEPTION OF THESE RIGHTS IS BETTER AS IS SOCIALIST IMPLEMENTATION, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. PETRAN NOTED FRUITFUL AND THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT BELGRADE. HE SAID CONFERENCE

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WAS USEFUL AND ENDED IN CONSTRUCTIVE TONE. AFTER DETAILING RESPECTIVE POSITIONS ON BASKET I, II, AND III PROPOSALS, ESPECIALLY EMPHASIZING SOVIET MILITARY PROPOSALS, HE NOTED THAT "THOSE OF PROPOSALS WHICH ARE CONSTRUCTIVE AND ARE POINTING AHEAD WILL EXERCISE FAVORABLE INFLUENCE ON THE FURTHER BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL COOPERATION OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES." THIS WAS REMINISCENT OF HIS CONCLUDING REMARKS AT BELGRADE TO EFFECT THAT HELSINKI PROCESS WAS A LONG-TERM ONE.

4. MAGYAR HIRLAP NOTED BELGRADE MEETING FULFILLED THE TWO-FOLD TASK DEFINED IN HELSINKI FINAL ACT: TO EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITIES OF IMPROVING RELATIONS AND WIDENING DETENTE AND TO FIX THE DATE AND LOCALE OF NEXT MEETING. STRESSING THE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF HELSINKI, MAGYAR HIRLAP SAID FURTHER STEADY WORK IS NECESSARY, BELGRADE WAS NOT A STEP BACKWARD AND ITS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 1147

AIMS WILL BE SERVED BY THE UPCOMING BILATERAL AND
MULTILATERAL MEETINGS INCLUDING THE THREE EUROPEAN
CONFERENCE AGREED UPON AT BELGRADE AND THE NEXT
FOLLOW-UP MEETING SCHEDULED FOR MADRID. PAPER ADDS,
HOWEVER, RESULTS AT BELGRADE COULD HAVE BEEN GREATER
IF THERE HAD BEEN NO WESTERN OBSTRUCTIONISM.

5. IN MAGYAR NEMZET, IMRE TATAR COVERS SAME GROUND
COVERED BY PETRAN AND MAGYAR HIRLAP ARTICLE. IN
ADDITION, TATAR ECHOES THEME OF TWO WEEKS AGO THAT
BEFORE BASIC FREEDOMS CAN BE FULLY ENFORCED (SIC)
MILITARY DETENTE MUST BE REALIZED AND ECONOMIC PRO-
BLEMS SOLVED. HE SAYS BELGRADE TAUGHT LESSON THAT
TWO SIDES STILL OPPOSE EACH OTHER. INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS HAVE COOLED DOWN, HE CONTINUED, BUT BELGRADE
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HAS SHOWN EVEN SHARPEST CLASH MUST END IN COMPROMISE.
HE CONCLUDES WE HUNGARIANS "HAVE DONE OUR BEST FOR THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT AS REGARDS HUMAN

RIGHTS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS, THE PROPAGATION OF CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS INCLUDING OF OTHER PEOPLES. THIS IS OUR INTENTION FOR THE FUTURE TOO." THE HELSINKI SPIRIT MUST BE PRESERVED "AMIDST THE STORMS OF THE FUTURE."

6. FINALLY WE NOTE THAT TRADE UNION DAILY NEPSZAVA WAS ONLY PAPER LAST WEEK TO MENTION U.S. BY NAME. ON ONE HAND, IT CRITICIZED U.S. FOR ITS ATTITUDE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. ON OTHER, IT RECOGNIZED THAT U.S. AND ITS ALLIES INTENDED TO CONTINUE DETENTE. ONLY WEST, NEPSZAVA SAID, WAS DISAPPOINTED BY FINAL DOCUMENT AT BELGRADE BECAUSE WEST HAD COUNTED ON INJECTING UNILATERAL COMMUNIST CONCESSIONS INTO THAT DOCUMENT. NEPSZAVA THOUGHT REAL STRUGGLE AT BELGRADE, WHICH IT IMPLIES SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WON, WAS NOT FOR WHAT WAS TO BE PUT IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BUT WHAT WAS TO BE OMITTED.

7. EXTENSIVE COVERAGE NOTED ABOVE WHICH OFTEN PRESENTED WESTERN VIEWS AND POSITION, ALBEIT IN UNSYMPATHETIC TERMS, WAS SUPPLEMENTED BY PUBLICATION BY ALL NEWSPAPERS ON MAR 9 OF FULL TEXT OF BELGRADE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

8. COMMENT: FROM CONSTANT REFERENCES TO CSCE AS LONG-TERM PROCESS, TO DESIRABILITY OF CARRYING OUT HELSINKI PROCESS, AND TO CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS SURFACED AT BELGRADE, EMBASSY CONCLUDES THAT GOH CONTINUES TO LOOK UPON HELSINKI AS UMBRELLA UNDER WHICH IT

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CAN ADVANCE A MORE FLEXIBLE, OUTWARD-LOOKING DORIEGN POLICY AND FURTHER ITS WON INTERESTS IN A MANNER WHICH MIGHT NOT OTHERWISE BE SO READILY ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION (SEE REF (B)). EXTENSIVE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO CSCE PROCESS HERE, EVEN TO WESTERN VIEWS AS EXPRESSED AT BELGRADE, SHOWS HUNGARIANS ARE NOT PARTICULARLY AFRAID OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONSIDER THEIR RECORD STANDS UP WELL. THEY NO DOUBT EVEN HOPE TO EARN SOME CAPITAL WITH DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION ON THIS SCORE. NOTWITHSTANDING, ANY FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES TO U.S. OR OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE SURE TO BE CAREFULLY METED OUT AND BE PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO CURRY FAVOR WHICH WILL CARRY OVER INTO OTHER ASPECTS OF HUNGARIAN-WESTERN RELATIONS OR CULTIVATE POPULAR IMAGE WITH HUNGARIAN PUBLIC.

9. THE GOH REMAINS MORE COMFORTABLE WITH IMPLEMENTA-

TION OF HELSINKI IN BILATERAL AS OPPOSED TO MULTI-
LATERAL CHANNELS, WHERE, IN THE LATTER CASE, THE
NEED FOR SOCIALIST UNITY IS GREATER. IT IS RELIVED
THAT BELGRADE IS PAST HISTORY AND PREFERS TO LOOK
BEYOND IT. AS DEPUTY FONMIN NAGY REMARKED TO DCM,
"THERE WERE NO WINNERS OR LOSERS AT BELGRADE."
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